

Table I
OFFICIAL RESULTS, MEXICO 2006 PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS

| | <i>Votes</i> | <i>%</i> |
|---|-------------------|--------------|
| Felipe Calderón (PAN) | 14,916,927 | 35.89 |
| Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (PRD-PT-Convergencia) | 14,683,096 | 35.33 |
| Roberto Madrazo (PRI-PVEM) | 9,237,000 | 22.23 |
| Roberto Campa (Nueva Alianza) | 397,550 | 0.96 |
| Patricia Mercado (Alternativa) | 1,124,280 | 2.71 |
| Write-in candidates | 298,204 | 0.72 |
| Valid votes | 40,657,057 | 97.83 |
| Annulled votes | 900,373 | 2.17 |
| TOTAL Votes | 41,557,430 | 100 |

Source: Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, Dictamen relativo al cómputo final de la elección de Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, declaración de validez de la elección y de presidente electo.

Table II

OFFICIAL RESULTS, MEXICO 2006 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

| | Chamber of Deputies | | | Senate | | |
|--|---------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
| | Votes | % | Seats | Votes | % | Seats |
| PAN | 13,845,122 | 33.41 | 206 | 14,035,503 | 33.63 | 52 |
| Coalición Por el Bien de Todos (PRD-PT-Convergencia) | 12,013,360 | 28.99 | 127+16+17 | 12,397,008 | 29.70 | 36 |
| Alianza por México (PRI-PVEM) | 11,676,598 | 28.18 | 101+20 | 11,681,395 | 27.99 | 33+6 |
| Nueva Alianza | 1,883,494 | 4.55 | 9 | 1,688,198 | 4.04 | 1 |
| Alternativa Socialdemócrata y Campesina | 850,985 | 2.05 | 4 | 795,730 | 1.91 | |
| Write-in candidates | 128,825 | 0.31 | | 119,422 | 0.29 | |
| Valid votes | 40,398,384 | 97.50 | | 40,717,256 | 97.55 | |
| Annulled votes | 1,037,578 | 2.50 | | 1,021,932 | 2.45 | |
| TOTAL | 41,435,962 | 100 | 500 | 41,739,188 | 100 | 128 |

Source: Instituto Federal Electoral, Acuerdo del Consejo General del Instituto Federal Electoral por el que se efectúa el cómputo total de la elección de Diputados y Senadores.

Table III
DETERMINANTS OF PRESIDENTIAL VOTE
EXIT POLL, MEXICO 2006 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

| <i>variable</i> | Calderón = 0.396 | | | Madrazo = 0.213 | | | López Obrador = 0.389 | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----|------------------------|------------------|-----|------------------------------|------------------|-----|
| | <i>dy/dx</i> | <i>Std. Err.</i> | | <i>dy/dx</i> | <i>Std. Err.</i> | | <i>dy/dx</i> | <i>Std. Err.</i> | |
| Women | -0.06 | 0.04 | | 0.05 | 0.02 | ** | 0.01 | 0.04 | |
| Northwest | 0.08 | 0.04 | ** | 0.03 | 0.03 | | -0.11 | 0.04 | *** |
| Mexico City | 0.17 | 0.07 | ** | -0.11 | 0.03 | *** | -0.06 | 0.07 | |
| Rural | 0.03 | 0.05 | | 0.10 | 0.04 | *** | -0.13 | 0.04 | *** |
| 55 years or more | 0.03 | 0.07 | | 0.07 | 0.04 | * | -0.11 | 0.06 | * |
| Catholic | 0.01 | 0.05 | | -0.08 | 0.04 | ** | 0.06 | 0.05 | |
| Education | 0.02 | 0.02 | | -0.03 | 0.01 | ** | 0.01 | 0.02 | |
| Union (respondent or relative) | -0.05 | 0.05 | | 0.00 | 0.04 | | 0.05 | 0.06 | |
| Income | 0.00 | 0.01 | | 0.00 | 0.00 | | 0.00 | 0.01 | |
| Independents | 0.15 | 0.05 | ** | -0.38 | 0.03 | *** | 0.23 | 0.05 | *** |
| Panista (strong and weak) | 0.50 | 0.06 | *** | -0.50 | 0.04 | *** | 0.00 | 0.06 | |
| Perredista (strong and weak) | -0.20 | 0.08 | ** | -0.44 | 0.04 | *** | 0.63 | 0.08 | *** |
| Ideology (Left-Right) | 0.03 | 0.01 | ** | 0.01 | 0.01 | | -0.04 | 0.01 | *** |
| Fox strong approval | 0.08 | 0.04 | ** | -0.08 | 0.03 | *** | -0.01 | 0.05 | |
| Pocket OK | 0.07 | 0.03 | ** | -0.02 | 0.02 | | -0.04 | 0.03 | |
| Sociotropic OK | 0.07 | 0.03 | ** | -0.06 | 0.02 | *** | -0.01 | 0.03 | |
| Oportunidades | 0.05 | 0.06 | | 0.01 | 0.04 | | -0.06 | 0.05 | |
| Seguro Popular | -0.07 | 0.06 | | 0.06 | 0.04 | | 0.02 | 0.06 | |
| Opinion index FC-AMLO | 0.13 | 0.01 | *** | 0.01 | 0.01 | ** | -0.14 | 0.01 | *** |

Multinomial logit model, *Reforma* national exit poll.

Figures are predicted marginal effects in the probability of the outcome category, given of a unit change in the explanatory variable, with all other variables held at their means.

N = 2,883; Log pseudolikelihood = -1068.73; Pseudo R² = 0.6518

p*<0.1; *p*<0.05; ****p*<0.01

Table IV
PERCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY BY VOTE INTENTION
3RD WAVE MEXICO 2006 PANEL STUDY

| | <i>Calderón</i> | <i>Madrazo</i> | <i>López Obrador</i> | <i>Other</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Mexico is a Democracy (all waves)</i> | 54.2% | 20.8% | 21.8% | 3.2% | 100% |
| | N = 154 | N = 59 | N = 62 | N = 9 | N = 284 |
| <i>Mexico is NOT a Democracy (all waves)</i> | 19.4 | 18.1 | 54.2 | 8.3 | 100% |
| | 14 | 13 | 39 | 6 | N = 72 |
| <i>Disappointed (switched Yes to No)</i> | 27.3 | 13.6 | 54.6 | 4.6 | 100% |
| | 24 | 12 | 48 | 4 | N = 88 |
| <i>Optimistic (Switched No to Yes)</i> | 40.3 | 29.2 | 30.6 | 0.0 | 100% |
| | 29 | 21 | 22 | 0 | N = 72 |
| <i>TOTAL</i> | 42.8 | 20.4 | 33.1 | 3.7 | 100% |
| | 221 | 105 | 171 | 19 | N = 516 |

Pearson $\chi^2(9) = 67.94; Pr = 0.000$

Table V
DETERMINANTS OF PROTEST POTENTIAL
MEXICO 2006 PANEL STUDY

| <i>Variables (wave in parenthesis)</i> | <i>Coef.</i> | <i>Std. Err.</i> | |
|---|--------------|------------------|------------|
| Certain Mexico is a Democracy (all waves) | -0.04 | 0.23 | |
| Certain Mexico is not a Democracy (all waves) | -0.53 | 0.37 | |
| Think elections are going to be clean (2) | -0.14 | 0.15 | |
| Has credibility in IFE (2) | -0.16 | 0.13 | |
| Women (1) | 0.36 | 0.22 | |
| Age (1) | 0.00 | 0.01 | |
| Rural (1) | 0.00 | 0.27 | |
| Northwest (1) | 0.25 | 0.24 | |
| Union (1) | 0.06 | 0.43 | |
| Panista (1) | 0.96 | 0.32 | *** |
| Perredista (1) | 1.55 | 0.36 | *** |
| Priísta (1) | 1.07 | 0.31 | *** |
| Frequent assistance to Church (1) | 0.16 | 0.10 | |
| Education (1) | -0.19 | 0.06 | *** |
| Seguro Popular (1) | 0.31 | 0.28 | |
| Oportunidades (1) | 0.34 | 0.27 | |
| Lowest income (2) | 0.12 | 0.23 | |
| Mexico City subsidy (1) | 0.40 | 0.32 | |
| Extreme ideology (1) | 0.55 | 0.32 | * |
| Calderón voter completely certain will win (2) | 0.51 | 0.4 | |
| AMLO voter completely certain will win (2) | 0.66 | 0.38 | * |
| Mexico City (1) | -1.78 | 1.36 | |
| Age (1) x Mexico City (1) | 0.03 | 0.01 | ** |
| Priísta (1) x Mexico City (1) | -1.14 | 0.69 | * |
| Oportunidades (1) x Mexico City (1) | -2.01 | 0.90 | ** |
| Lowest income (2) x Mexico City (1) | 0.67 | 0.40 | * |
| Constant | -0.69 | 0.79 | |

N = 760
Log likelihood = -425.28
LR $\chi^2(40) = 148.68$
Prob > $\chi^2 = 0$
Pseudo $R^2 = 0.1488$
Correctly classified: 71.05%

*** $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$**

Figures are probit coefficients and robust standard errors.
Dependent variable is potential for protest, as measured in the second wave of the panel.

References on the Panel Study

The *Mexico Election Panel Study 2005–2006* was cosponsored by *Grupo Reforma* and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) through the National Science Foundation (NSF) grant SES-0517971. The academic team includes Chappell Lawson (principal investigator), Alejandro Moreno, Kenneth Greene, Kathleen Bruhn, Wayne Cornelius, Jorge I. Domínguez, Francisco Flores-Macias, Andy Baker, Joseph Klesner, Roderic Camp, Beatriz Magaloni, James McCann, David Shirk, and Alejandro Poiré. Further information is available at <http://web.mit.edu/polisci/research/mexico06/index.htm>.

The *Mexico Election Panel Study 2005–2006* consists of three waves, the first one carried out on 7–10 and 15–18 October (N=2,400); the second one carried out on 3–16 May (N=1,770); and the third one carried out on 15–30 July (N=1,594). Federal elections were held on 2 July 2006. In total, 1,378 respondents were interviewed in all three waves.

Mexico Election Panel Study 2005-2006 variables (waves in parenthesis)

| | |
|--|---|
| Women (1) | 1=women; 0=men. |
| Age (1) | Age in years, continuous from 17 to 93. |
| Vote (1) | 1=Voted for Calderón; 2=Voted for Madrazo; 3=Voted for AMLO; 4=Voted for other candidates; missing=otherwise. |
| Panista (1) | 1=Panista; 0=otherwise. |
| Priísta (1) | 1=Priísta; 0=otherwise. |
| Perredista (1) | 1=Perredista; 0=otherwise. |
| Independent (1) | 1=Independent; 0=otherwise. |
| Frequent assistance to Church (1) | 5=More than once a week; 4=Once a week; 3=Once a month; 2=Only on special occasions; 1=Never; missing otherwise. |
| Education (1) | Education in complete phases, continuous from none to college or more. |
| Protest potential (2) | 1=Would turnout to protest in case favorite candidate lost the elections; 0=would not; missing otherwise. |
| Mexico is a Democracy (all waves) | 1=Mexico is a Democracy; 0=otherwise. |
| Mexico is not a Democracy (all waves) | 2=Mexico is not a Democracy; 0=otherwise. |
| Think elections are going to be clean (2) | 4=Thinks elections will be totally clean; 3=thinks elections will be somehow clean; 2=thinks elections will be barely clean; 1=thinks elections will not be clean; missing otherwise. |
| Has credibility in IFE (2) | 4=Has a lot of credibility; 3=Has some credibility; 2=Has very few credibility; 1=Has no credibility; missing otherwise. |
| Rural (1) | 1=Electoral section is rural; 0 otherwise. |
| Mexico City (1) | 1=Mexico City; 0=otherwise. |
| Union (1) | 1=Member or relative belongs to a union; 0=otherwise. |
| Seguro Popular (1) | 1=Recipient of Seguro Popular; 0=otherwise. |
| Oportunidades (1) | 1=Recipient of Oportunidades; 0=otherwise. |
| Fox OK (1) | 2=Strongly approves President Fox; 1=Approves somehow; 0=Neither; -1=Disapproves somehow; -2=Strongly disapproves. |
| Sociotropic OK (1) | 2=Country's economic situation has improved a lot since Fox started his tenure; 1=Has improved somehow; 0=Remains the same; -1=Has worsened somehow; -2=Has worsened a lot. |
| Pocketbook OK (1) | 2=Personal economic situation has improved a lot since Fox started his tenure; 1=Has improved somehow; 0=Remains the same; -1=Has worsened somehow; -2=Has worsened a lot. |
| Opinion index FC-AMLO (1) | Calderón's opinion thermometer minus AMLO's, continuous from -10 to 10. |
| Northwest (1) | 1=Aguascalientes, Baja California, Coahuila, Colima, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, Nuevo León, San Luis Potosí, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tamaulipas, Zacatecas; 0=otherwise. |
| Mexico City subsidy (1) | 1=Respondent or relative is a recipient of Mexico City subsidies; 0=otherwise. |
| Lowest income (2) | 1=Earns less than \$2,600 pesos a month; 0=otherwise. |
| Extreme ideology (1) | 1=Considers herself as extreme left/right; 0=otherwise. |
| Calderón voter completely certain will win (2) | 1=Would vote for Calderón and is completely certain that Calderón will win the election; 0=otherwise. |
| AMLO voter completely certain will win (2) | 1=Would vote for AMLO and is completely certain that AMLO will win the election; 0=otherwise. |

Summary of variables

| Variable | Obs | Mean | Std. Dev. | Min | Max |
|--|-------|-------|--------------|-----|-----|
| Women (1) | 2,400 | 0.52 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Age (1) | 2,338 | 40.31 | 15.93 | 17 | 93 |
| Vote (1) | 2,070 | 2.27 | 0.89 | 1 | 4 |
| Panista (1) | 2,317 | 0.22 | 0.42 | 0 | 1 |
| Priísta (1) | 2,317 | 0.25 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 |
| Perredista (1) | 2,317 | 0.23 | 0.42 | 0 | 1 |
| Independent (1) | 2,317 | 0.29 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Frequent assistance to Church (1) | 2,368 | 3.14 | 1.16 | 1 | 5 |
| Education (1) | 2,393 | 4.93 | 2.54 | 1 | 9 |
| Protest potential (2) | 1,675 | 0.37 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| Mexico is a Democracy (all waves) | 1,071 | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Mexico is not a Democracy (all waves) | 1,071 | 0.14 | 0.34 | 0 | 1 |
| Think elections are going to be clean (2) | 1,963 | 2.72 | 0.82 | 1 | 4 |
| Has credibility in IFE (2) | 1,698 | 2.82 | 0.94 | 1 | 4 |
| Rural (1) | 2,400 | 0.26 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 |
| Mexico City (1) | 2,400 | 0.28 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Union (1) | 2,355 | 0.07 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 |
| Seguro Popular (1) | 2,356 | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 |
| Oportunidades (1) | 2,201 | 0.24 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 |
| Fox OK (1) | 2,272 | 0.46 | 1.36 | -2 | 2 |
| Sociotropic OK (1) | 2,323 | 0.28 | 1.02 | -2 | 2 |
| Pocketbook OK (1) | 2,341 | 0.13 | 0.92 | -2 | 2 |
| Northwest (1) | 2,400 | 0.32 | 0.47 | 0 | 1 |
| Opinion index FC-AMLO (2) | 1,822 | 0.22 | 4.63 | -10 | 10 |
| Mexico City subsidy (1) | 3,105 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0 | 1 |
| Lowest income (2) | 3,105 | 0.22 | 0.41 | 0 | 1 |
| Extreme ideology (1) | 3,105 | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0 | 1 |
| Calderón voter completely certain will win (2) | 3,105 | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0 | 1 |
| AMLO voter completely certain will win (2) | 3,105 | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 |

Total observations include national sample, plus rural and DF over-samples.